

Significant Points in Secretary McNamara's
Testimony to the Senate Committee

McNamara

Council

Dissent

A) Air Objectives: 1) to reduce the flow and/or increase the cost of infiltration of men and supplies

2) raise the morale of the South Vietnamese people

3) make clear to Hanoi that they would have to pay a price in North for their aggression in South

B.) Bombing is a supplement and not a substitute for effective campaign in South.

ON FILE OSD RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

The limitations of the air campaign =
three topics

- 1) the objectives + achievements of air war
- 2) target recommendations of JCS + extent to which they are followed
- 3.) the proposals of the hawks:
 - a) Hot bombing can keep DRV to the table
 - b) " " can prevent flow of supplies into or through DRV

c) The campaign has been successful:

- raised morale in the South
- put a high price on aggression
- made infiltration more

difficult and costly

D.) Complete interdiction has never been considered possible

E.) DRV's war-making ability is dependent on imports of military goods & moving them South - the capacity of the transport system is very large and traffic is very small -- 15 tons per day in a pipeline with an outlet of 200 tons/day.

F.) DRV has had to divert
some 500,000 people to
cope with air attacks

G.) Bombing campaign is
hurting DRV's war-making
capability

H.) No campaign, short of one
with population as target can
force Hanoi into submission

I.) We strive constantly to
maximize the cost of
infiltration + to improve
our air power — but no
improvements can do much
more than put a high
price tag on aggression.

Topic II - JCS Target Recommendations

A. OTL has 427 targets.

of which 68 not recommended.

Of 359, strikes authorized
against 302 (85% of total)

On 57 of JCS recommended
targets have not been authorized.

B. Strikes against the 57 will
not materially shorten the
war.

Shapiro says it will
Wheeler says they
are worthwhile

C. Of 57 -

7 seen by JCS of little value

9 are Pd facilities.

25 lesser targets in pop. areas.

4 significant " "

3 ports

4 airfields

5 buffer zone

D. For a few of these targets
the risks of confrontation exceed
military

Approved For Release 2001/11/19 : CIA-RDP78T02095R000700020006-8
be considered but they cannot
have different objectives than those we have.

Topic III

Hawks proposals -

They would change our objectives:

They believe air power can break the will or cut off supplies. They see air as a substitute rather than supplement

Breaking the Will

No evidence in intelligence reports that new campaign can break the will.

Indeed anger at US air attacks helps maintain popular support of Hanoi

Course of ground war, rather than scale of air attack is determining factor in "breaking will"

Cutting Supplies

Capacity of LOC's and
outside sources of supply
so exceed the minimum
flows necessary to sustain
war at present level that
they cannot be stopped
by air attacks.

Closure of Sea + Land Routes

Would interfere seriously
with imports but the
essentials needed to
fight war are so small
¹⁵⁻¹⁸ tons a day v. actual
imports of 5800 / + capacity
of 1400

Military equipment
comes by rail 550 tons
a day

If Haiphong close
land routes could
move 84 w tons a day

If land routes reduced
8% they move 20 percent
of current imports.

Elem. of Haiphong would
not elements ~~Sea imports~~
as unhesed by PL strikes.

Bombing ports + mining
harbors leads only to
total reliance on land
so would not be an
effective means of stopping
infiltration of supplies
to GVN

A less discriminate program
can do no more than
our present careful program
to slow ~~in~~ Approved For Release 2001/11/19 : CIA-RDP78T02095R000700020006-8
would it "break the will"

A less selective system
would involve risks too high
to accept for its dubious
prospects

Mining the harbors would
be an act of war in int'l law sense

Closing of ports could induce
strong & unpredictable Soviet
reaction — increasing its
support of DKV... w/ better
weapons, w/ volunteer
host US-Soviet relation, UN,
or even direct Soviet intervention

Final decision is in the Soviets

Issues raised

Mc - There is not a direct relationship between level of bombing + forces required in the south.

Would air campaign have been more efficient w/out restriction + would it have reduced casualties in the South
It would not have reduced casualties

Bombing targets earlier would not have reduced flow of men + material altho it would have increased the cost somewhat.

The difference in price to DRV would have been small -- $\frac{5}{4}$ million

We would have suffered greater losses if we went after the new targets earlier (we have learned new ~~sources, etc., equipment~~ for jamming, etc.)

Red China will come in -
if they saw the destruction
of govt of North Vietnam or denied
of independence

Even though 85% of goods come
from Hanoi military + only
supporting is so small
that you can have a dramatic
reduction in total imports
without affecting war material

15 tons a day seems small
but it is agreed intelligence

p.697

In terms of \$ and,
670 million from USSR
120? 130 from China

We could win war w/out
cutting off supplies from USSR
Don't know how to do it
Would create serious
military risks

He runs them the 57, decide
their importance, says he
won't risk lives on them —
YET they come up on
THE NEW LISTS

We have destroyed 85 MIGS
lost only 23 to MIGS
(12 in last year)

* Hartung won't the entry
part for 85% of was material.
About 100% of it comes by
land

The senators believe more
effective air & sea power
can shorten the war

A CIA agent says
morale is holding up
and we can't break
or weaken it by bombing

(16 Aug)

Moving sorties won't
reduce casualties in
South; not sure if returning
them well - since the
size of flow of supplies
to South from North
is not bombing but
the loc's in Laos &
northern South Vietnam

Wheeler &
McConnell disagree

The campaign has
not reduced flow to
South to point that
no more than present
levels of enemy forces
in South has been maintained
over last 18 months

(Ats CIA monthly
(June 18 July)

436
1244
57
174

Approved For Release 2001/11/19 : CIA-RDP78T02095R000700020006-8

Mc - 95%

Sharp - 57%
42%

Mac = 95% of JCS

Share = 42 58% of JCS + Cincpac

436
1244
1200

436

427

of which not struck = 187

of not authorized = 107

421
242
185

436
107

329 = authorized

as of Tuesday -

359 recommended
85% 302 authorized \rightarrow not anywhere
near 436
recommended

359

+ 68 not recommended

427 = total list of chiefs = operating target list

McCormick

contains JCS/CINCPAC target list as of 21 Aug =
361 of which 54 not authorized

✓ Truck inventory per DICE

Feb 1965 = 9, 000

Current 10-12, 000

after we destroyed 4100 and
damaged 4, 000

Of the 57 targets
only a small number
are very important and a
substantial number of
them would be considered
very unimportant

Mac says most of
the power plants they
are not attempting
to reconstruct